

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-11

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AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
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AMCONSUL MADRAS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 8396

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, PORG, IN
SUBJECT: INDIAN VIEWS ON HAVANA NACB MEETING

1. IN A SOMEWHAT LESS THAN CANDID CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFFS
MAY 29, MEA ADDITIONAL SECRETARY FOR THE UN, N.P. JAIN DOWNPLAYED
DIVISIVENESS AT THE NON-ALIGNED BUREAU MEETING IN HAVANA (WHICH
HE HAD ATTENDED) AND PLAYED UP INDIA'S ROLE IN MODERATING THE
LANGUAGE OF THE COMMUNIQUE. JAIN DID NOT ALLUDE TO THE SHARP
EXCHANGES AT THE CONFERENCE BUT INSTEAD TOOK THE LINE THAT THE
RADICAL STATES DID NOT GET ALL THAT THEY WANTED.
ALGERIA, HE SAID, WANTED A MUCH TOUGHER STATEMENT ON WESTERN
SAHARA. ASIDE FROM NOTING THAT THE BUREAU WAS HEAVILY WEIGHTED
ON ONE SIDE OF THE INTRA-ARAB MIDDLE EAST DISPUTE, JAIN CHARACTER-
IZED THAT SECTION OF THE COMMUNIQUE AS SETTING FORTH STANDARD
POSITIONS AND INSISTED THAT IT COULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS CRITI-
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CIZING EGYPT SINCE THERE IS NO MENTION OF THE SADAT INITIATIVES.
IN STRESSING AND DETAILING INDIA'S MODERATE LINE, JAIN SAID THAT
THE INDIANS THREATENED TO TAKE RESERVATIONS UNLESS
LANGUAGE ROUNDLY CONDEMNING THE US WAS CHANGED. THE PLO, FOR
INSTANCE, WANTED TO CONDEMN ALL US ACTIONS. HE SAID THAT THE
INDIANS ALSO OBJECTED TO THE COMMUNIQUE CONTAINING AS A STATE-
MENT OF FACT THAT THE US HAD CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR MILITARY ACTION

AGAINST THE OIL-PRODUCING STATES. THIS PHRASE WAS THEN CHANGED TO A CONDEMNATION OF "SOME LEADERS OF THE US" FOR ADVOCATING SUCH PLANS.

2. ON CUBA'S ROLE, JAIN THOUGHT THAT THE CUBANS HANDLED THE CONFERENCE RATHER WELL. THEIR DRAFTS ON THE MIDDLE EAST, WESTERN SAHARA AND AFRICA WERE, IN FACT, Milder THAN WHAT FINALLY EMERGED AT THE CONFERENCE. THE HORN OF AFRICA DID NOT EMERGE AS AN ISSUE. (JAIN SEEMED RATHER SATISFIED WITH THIS OUTCOME.) THE CUBANS WERE CAREFUL NOT TO AISE THE ISSUE, BECAUSE THEY WOULD THEN HAVE LEFT THEMSELVES OPEN FOR ATTACK, AND THEY DID NOT ASK FOR ENDORSEMENT OF THEIR ACTIONS IN AFRICA. (JAIN MADE NO REFERENCE TO THE PLO-SPONSORED RESOLUTION OF THANKS REPORTED BY EMBASSY HAVANA.) HE ALSO NOTED THAT THE SOMALIS DID NOT SEND AN OBSERVER AND THAT ZAIRE WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO RAISE THE CUBAN ISSUE SINCE IT HAD ITSELF JUST ASKED FOR FOREIGN MILITARY ASSISTANCE. ASKED IF THE CUBANS' BEHAVIOR HAD HELPED ALLAY OPPOSITION TO THE HOLDING OF THE SUMMIT IN HAVANA, JAIN SAID THE HE HAD ALWAYS CONSIDERED THE SUMMIT ISSUE AN "ACADEMIC" QUESTION BECAUSE THE ANSWER WOULD DEPEND ON WHAT EVENTS TRANSPIRED MUCH CLOSER TO THE MEETING TIME.

3. ASKED ABOUT INDIAN DIFFERENCES WITH CUBA ON THE DEFINITION OF NON-ALIGNMENT JAIN PROFESSED HIMSELF VERY PLEASED THAT THE INDIAN POSITION HAD BEEN "ACCEPTED" AND THAT NON-ALIGNMENT WAS NOT DEFINED SOLELY AS ANTI-IMPERIALISM. HISSTRESS WAS ON THE CONFIDENTIAL

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SURVIVAL OF THE INDIAN-DRAFTED FIRST PART OF THE DEFINITION, NOT ON THE CUBAN-ADDED LANGUAGE WHICH FOLLOWED. ON THIS, HE ALSO REFERRED TO INDIAN SUCCESS IN HAVING THE DOCUMENT CONDEMN FOREIGN DOMINATION OF ANY KIND, IN EXPANDING DEFINITION OF IMPERIALISM TO INCLUDE "ALL ITS FORMS", AND IN THWARTING CUBAN EFFORTS TO EXPRESS NAM SOLIDARITY WITH THE SOCIALIST STATES ALONE. INSTEAD, THE DOCUMENT ADVOCATES TIES WITH "DEMOCRATIC AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES" ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. HE REPEATED THIS TO US SEVERAL TIMES.

4. IN MAKING MUCH OF INDIAN MODERATION, JAIN NOTED THAT THE GOI TOOK RESERVATIONS ON THE KOREA ISSUE BECAUSE THE NORTH KOREANS WOULD NOT COMPROMISE AND ON MAYOTTE BECAUSE OF THE CONDEMNATION OF FRANCE. ASKED THEN ABOUT INDIA'S FAILURE TO TAKE A RESERVATION ON PUERTO RICO, JAIN SAID THAT CUBA'S ORIGINAL DRAFT WAS ALMOST A VERBATIM COPY FROM LAST YEAR'S DELHI COMMUNIQUE AND THE CUBANS HAD INTRODUCED THEIR CONTENTIOUS AMENDMENT ONLY TO "IMPRESS THEIR RADICAL FRIENDS". (HE DID NOT MENTION THE PUERTO RICAN PSP.) INDIA, HE SAID, DID NOT THINK IT WAS NECESSARY TO TAKE A RESERVATION AT HAVAA BECAUSE THE LANGUAGE WAS SO MILD AND ALMOST "WHAT THE USG ITSELF ACCEPTS". WHEN EMBOFFS TOOK EXCEPTION TO THIS, JAIN THEN SAID THAT THE OPERATIVE WORDS REALLY WEE "SUPPORT FOR LEGITIMATE RIGHTS". HE ALSO ARGUED THAT

INDIA THOUGHT IT MORE IMPORTANT TO ARGUE FOR MILD LANGUAGE THAN TO THREATEN A RESERVATION SINCE OTHERWISE THE CUBANS WOULD HAVE GONE AHEAD WITH HARSHER LANGUAGE KNOWING THAT THE INDIANS WOULD RESERVE ANYWAY. THIS STRUCK US AS ANINTERESTING NEW TWIST TO THE NAM DRAFTING GAME.

5. AS FOR THE QUESTION OF A NEED FOR DISPUTE SETTLEMENT WITHIN THE NAM, JAIN SAID THAT THE LANGUAGE IN THE COMMUNIQUE SUPPORTS INDIA'S POSITION THAT SUCH MATTERS SHOULD BE SETTLED BILATERALLY. JAIN SAID HE DID NOT THINK THAT THE NAM WOULD BE ABLE TO DEVELOP A MECHANISM FOR THIS; IT MIGHT ENCOURAGE PEACEFUL INITIATIVES BUT MECHANISM WERE DIFFICULT TO ESTABLISH AND WERE RARELY VERY EFFECTIVE ANYWAY. JAIN WAS ALSO SATISFIED WITH THE COMMUNIQUE'S FINAL LANGUAGE ON DISARMAMENT. HE COMMENTED THAT THE CUBANS' CONFIDENTIAL

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ORIGINAL DRAFT "COULD HAVE BEEN WRITTEN IN MOSCOW".

6. WHILE CONVEYING DISAPPOINTMENT ON INDIA'S FAILURE TO TAKE A RESERVATION ON PUERTO RICO, WE EXPRESSED OUR APPRECIATION TO JAIN FOR THE RESERVATION ON KOREA AND FOR INDIA'S EFFORTS TOWARD MODERATION AT THE CONFERENCE
GOHEEN

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